

Message Text

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SUBJECT: MIKI AND MIYAZAWA EXPRESS VIEWS ON US, KOREA, CHINA TREATY

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SUMMARY. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 12 PRIMIN MIKI DISCUSSED HIS
RECENTLY CONCLUDED US TRIP WITH SATISFACTION,
PRESENTED FAMILIAR VIEWS ON
THE KOREAN SITUATION AND SINO-JAPANESE DIFFERENCES
ON THE HEGEMONY ISSUE.

MIKI AGAIN RULED OUT DISSOLUTION IN 1975.

FONMIN MIYAZAWA, IN A SEPARATE

SAME DAY PRESS CONFERENCE, EXPRESSED A LESS QUALIFIED VIEW OF SOUTH
KOREA'S IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN AND SINGLED
OUT THE JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP

TREATY AS THE GOJ'S NEXT PRIORTY DIPLOMATIC TASK. IN A RELATED DEVEL-
MENT, DEPUTY PRIMIN FUKUDA WILL REPORTEDLY

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BE CHOSEN "CHIEF ATTENDANT"

TO EMPEROR AND EMPRESS DURING THEIR OCTOBER

US VISIT. THE PRESS PERCEIVED

"DIFFERENCES" BETWEEN MIKI AND MIYAZAWA. WE BELIEVE THESE EXIST

BUT HAVE YET TO AFFECT SIGNIFICANTLY MIKI'S POLICY.
END SUMMARY.

1. DURING PRIMIN MIKI'S FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE (AUGUST 12) SINCE RETURNING HOME, HE ONCE AGAIN STRESSED THE WARM WELCOME HE RECEIVED DURING HIS US VISIT AND HIS PERSONAL SATISFACTION WITH THE VISIT. HE UNDERLINED THE SIMILARITY OF HIS PARLIAMENTARY BACKGROUND AND THAT OF THE PRESIDENT. HE TURNED ASIDE CRITICISM OF FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S ABSENCE AT HIS UNSCHEDULED MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT BY SAYING FLATLY THAT FOREIGN AFFAIRS WERE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CABINET WHICH HE HEADS. HE THEN OUTLINED FOUR AREAS OF US-JAPANESE AGREEMENT:

- THE DESIRE FOR ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP;
- THE NECESSITY TO SAFEGUARD LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY;
- THE POSSIBILITY OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE US AND JAPAN BECAUSE JAPAN HAS ITS OWN VIEWPOINT;
- THE NEED FOR THE US AND JAPAN TO WORK FOR WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY, PARTICULARLY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC REGION.

2. ON KOREA, MIKI SAID THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF THE 1969 "KOREA CLAUSE" AS SUCH WITH US LEADERS, BUT THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE IS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOUTH KOREA'S SECURITY AND THAT OF JAPAN AND THAT ACTIONS OF NORTH KOREA OBVIOUSLY INFLUENCE THE SECURITY OF SOUTH KOREA. THERE WERE NO DIFFERENCES ON THIS POINT BETWEEN THE US AND JAPAN, MIKI CONTINUED, AND DISCUSSIONS FOCUSED ON HOW TO PREVENT AN ARMED CLASH ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND THE NECESSITY OF KEEPING US TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY BALANCE.

3. COMMENTING ON THE KOREAN SITUATION AT HIS OWN (SEPARATE) PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 12, FONMIN MIYAZAWA SAID JAPAN AT HIS RECOMMENDATION HAD AGREED TO THE US DESIRE TO INCLUDE A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SECURITY OF SOUTH KOREA IN THE JOINT PRESS RELEASE. THIS, MIYAZAWA SAID, WAS A STEP BEYOND THE "SECURITY OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA" FORMULATION OF EARLIER COMMUNIQUE DRAFTS. BUT ACCORDING TO MIYAZAWA, MIKI WITHHELD SPECIFIC REAFFIRMATION OF THE 1969 NIXON-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SATO COMMUNIQUE FORMULATION BECAUSE OF MIKI'S OFTEN EXPRESSED VIEW THAT JAPAN MAY NOT APPROVE OF US COMBAT USE OF JAPANESE BASES IN EVERY INSTANCE. MIYAZAWA SUGGESTED THAT GOJ-ROK MINISTERIAL TALKS MIGHT BE HELD SEPTEMBER 14-15. (COMMENT: MIKI SAID THERE MIGHT BE DELAYS JUST THREE DAYS EARLIER (REFTEL).)

4. ON THE JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, PRIMIN MIKI SAID THE HEGEMONY ISSUE HAD NOT BEEN RAISED IN WASHINGTON. HE OPINED THAT IN FUTURE OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY WOULD BE CONSIDERED A UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE OF PEACE RATHER THAN A FORMULATION AIMED AT THIRDCOUNTRIES.

MIKI HOPED THIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE MIGHT

SERVE AS A BASIS FOR LONG-TERM SINO-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP.

5. FONMIN MIYAZAWA TOOK A MORE ACTIVE STANCE, SAYING IT IS THE "STRONG DESIRE" AND "TOP PRIORITY" OF THE GOJ TO BREAK THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING IMPASSE WITH CHINA OVER THE HEGEMONY ISSUE. REFERRING TO MIKI'S INTERPRETATION, MIYAZAWA SAID HE HAD ORDERED HIS SUBOR-

DINATES TO STUDY THE MEANING OF HEGEMONY AND AMBASSADOR OGAWA IN PEKING TO SEEK TO BREAK THE CURRENT DEADLOCK. ECHOING A RECENT MIKI STATEMENT (REFTEL), MIYAZAWA SAID A SPECIAL ENVOY SHOULD NOT BE SENT TO PEKING UNTIL AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE WORKING LEVEL.

6. ON DOMESTIC THEMES, PRIMIN MIKI SAID FLATLY ONCE AGAIN THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF DISSOLVING THE DIET IN 1975. HE ALSO PROMISED TO DISCUSS THE OPENINGDATE AND DURATION OF THE SEPECIAL DIET SESSION WITH OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS, ADDING THAT HE STILL HOPED TO START IN EARLY SEPTEMBER.

7. IN A RELATED DEVELOPMENT AUGUST 13, THE PRESS REPORTED THAT DEPUTY PRIMIN FUKUDA IS LIKELY TO BE NAMED "CHIEF ATTENDANT" FOR THE OCTOBER US VISIT OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS. FONMIN MIYAZAWA, WHO WOULD NORMALLY FULFILL THIS ROLE, IS SCHEDULED TO ATTEND THE UNGA AND EUROPEAN CONFERENCES.

8. COMMENT. BEARLY ALL OF THE THEMES COVERED BY BOTH PRIMIN MIKI AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA HAD BEEN VOICED EARLIER. AS A RESULT, MEDIA ATTENTION FOCUSED ON PROBLEMS WITH THE UPCOMING DIET SESSION AND ON PERCEIVED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MIKI AND MIYAZAWA. THE LATTER BUILT ON LAST MINUTE SIGNAL CHANGES ON THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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MIYAZAWA'S ABSENCE AT THE UNSCHEDULED MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, APPARENT DIFFERENCES ON KOREA AND, MOST RECENTLY, FUKUDA'S BEING NAMED "CHIEF ATTENDANT." THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR EACH OF THESE OCCURENCES WHICH DO NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MIKI AND MIYAZAWA. FUKUDA'S APPOINTMENT, IN PARTICULAR, PROBABLY REPRESENTS HIS LONGSTANDING DESIRE TO PAY A MORE OR LESS OFFICIAL US VISIT AND HIS CONTINUING IMPORTANCE TO MIKI'S CONTINUANCE IN OFFICE. THERE IS, IN ADDITION, THE CONSIDER-ABLE EGOS OF BOTH MIKI AND MIYAZAWA WHICH WOULD PROBABLY LEAD TO SOME DIFFERENCES DESPITE AGREEMENTON APPROACH TO A GIVEN ISSUE. THERE IS, FINALLY, THE POSSIBILITY THAT APPARENT POLICY DIFFER-ENCES ARE THE RESULT OF AT LEAST TACIT AGREEMRNT BETWEEN MIKI AND MIYAZAWA TO PLEASE BOTH WINGS OF THE LDP. BUT, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, THESE DIFFERENCES HAVE NOT SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECTED MIKI'S FOREIGN POLICY.
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